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OF THE
SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA.



BY
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CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH was born in Willoughby, Lincolnshire, England, in 1579, and on the death of his parents, when he was about thirteen years of age, he was left with a competent fortune, but his guardians, regarding his estate more than himself, gave him full liberty and no money. At the age of fifteen he was bound as apprentice to the greatest merchant in his part of the country, but, because of Smith's love of adventure and his disappointment at not being sent to sea at once, he ran away and did not see his master for eight years.

He went as an attendant into France, and on again returning to England, received ten shillings, of money already belonging to him, to relinquish all claims in his deceased father's estate. Going back to France he served as a soldier in that country, and afterwards in the Low Countries. In 1599 he embarked for Scotland, where he expected, through letters that had been given him, to obtain a place at court, but failing in this he returned to Willoughby, his native place, and there built himself an isolated lodge, and devoted his attention to the study of the arts of war and of horsemanship.

Again becoming restless, he went into the Netherlands, where he was duped by four French rogues to sail for France, only to be robbed of all his baggage, and finally to be landed with but a single piece of gold in his pocket, so that he was forced to sell his cloak to pay his passage. Pitying friends afforded the means to meet immediate needs and to resume his wanderings. It was not long after this that he met one of the rogues, and easily vanquished him in single combat.

He embarked for Italy, but the pilgrim passengers from the

provinces, on their way to Rome, took so great offense to him because of his nationality that they threw him overboard. Reaching a desert island he hailed a ship, which had sought refuge from the storm, and was taken aboard. According to his own account, Smith so won the favor of the captain that he easily got passage through to the Adriatic, where, meeting with a Venetian argosy, a fight ensued and resulted disastrously to the argosy and her cargo, half of which was seized. Smith was landed with four hundred and fifty pounds (£450) more than he had when he was picked up. He therefore improved the opportunity of traveling through Italy and of going to Rome. It was while on these travels that he met in Austria with a baron whose regiment he joined on an expedition to Turkey, where he proved himself so ingenious in devising stratagems, which were most successful on two occasions, that he was soon made captain of horse. On another occasion he improvised a very effective bomb, which brought sad havoc to the Turks.

During one long and tedious siege the Turks in derision sent the following challenge: "That to delight the ladies, who did long to see some court-like pastime, the lord Turbashaw did defy any captain that had command of a company who durst combat with him for his head."

After much discussion the challenge was accepted, and Captain Smith was chosen by lot to champion the British. At the first charge his lance passed through the head of his adversary, who fell dead. This death so enraged a friend of Turbashaw, that he at once sent a challenge, which Smith in turn accepted. The Turk was shot from his horse, and his head, horse, and armor taken as prize. After this Smith sent a challenge to any Turk who would meet him. It was accepted, and Smith was again the victor.

In 1602 Smith was found wounded after the battle of Rotten-ton and taken prisoner. A short time afterwards he was sold as a slave and sent to Constantinople. Thence he was taken from court to court in Tartary. His head was shaved "so bare as his hand," a great ring of iron was riveted about his neck, and a hair coat was put on him. During all these experiences Smith care-

fully noted the manners and customs of the people, their diet, clothing, houses, treatment of slaves, feasts, religion, and conduct in war. After a year's captivity, in revenge for cruel treatment, he beat out his master's brains with a "threshing bat" while working in the field. Then realizing his desperate strait, he donned his master's clothing, hid the dead body under the straw, filled his knapsack with corn, and mounting his horse started into the desert. After traveling many days Smith reached a Muscovite garrison on the river Don. The governor used him kindly. After this he made a thorough tour of Europe, turned his course through the heart of Europe, crossed to Africa, and then back to Portugal. In 1604 he returned to England on a man-of-war.

Of Smith's adventures in America the abstracts to be found in this book will give a fair account. However improbable it may seem, we can hardly deny that it is consistent with the story given of Smith's earlier wanderings through almost every part of the then known world.

Having considered Smith as an adventurer, it remains to speak of his writings, which were but the narratives of his adventures. Our chief interest in them springs from the fact that he was the first contributor to American literature; and further, that the subjects which he chose are the first records of the first American settlement.

Though quite a prolific writer, only three of Smith's books were written in America. The first, "A True Relation of Virginia," was written within the first thirteen months after the settlement of the Virginia colony, and was sent to London, where it was published in 1608. The character of this work may be judged from the selections which are given in this book.

It was not long after the publication of "A True Relation" that Smith was made Governor of Virginia. As such he was responsible to the London Company, who had secured the patent to the new territory and had spent money for its colonization. Becoming somewhat impatient at not receiving large and immediate dividends from their investment, the proprietors sent a

letter of inquiry in the form of seven questions to the Governor. The questions called forth seven categorical answers, and these answers comprise Smith's second contribution to American literature. By the same vessel which conveyed Smith's letter to his company in London he sent the manuscript for his third American work, entitled "A Map of the Bay and the Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them." As its title indicates, the book is devoted to the topography, climate, vegetation, and inhabitants, all of which are graphically described, as may be judged from reading the selection on "The Natural Inhabitants." The book was not printed until 1612. All of Smith's writings are marked by the same spirit of bold romance which characterized his life.

In the Fall of 1609, Smith, probably at the suggestion of the London proprietors, returned to England, where his further services as one of the Virginia Colony were dispensed with. "Smith thus disappeared from the stage of affairs in Virginia, but he had played a great part in the first scenes of American history, and his character and subsequent career deserve some notice." In 1614 he made a voyage of exploration, of which a map of the New England coast from the Penobscot River to Cape Cod is the result. In 1615 he sailed with a colony for settlement in New England.

On the voyage he was captured by a French pirate and taken as a prisoner to Rochelle, and though he soon made his escape to England he never again left that country. Until his death in 1631, his interest in the colonizing of America was unflagging.

"So snapped the chords of a stout heart, and a remarkable life ended. The character of the man must have appeared from his career. He was brave as his sword, full of energy, impatient of opposition, and had all the faults and virtues of the dominant class to which he belonged. His endurance was unshrinking, and his life in Virginia indicated plainly that he had enormous recoil. He was probably never really cast down, and seems to have kept his heart of hope, without an effort, in the darkest hours, when all around him despaired. He is said to have been cordial and winning in his manners, and even his critics declared that he had 'a prince's heart in a beggar's purse;' it is equally certain that he was im-

patient of temper, had large self-esteem, and was fond of applause. He seems to have spent his last years in London, industriously engaged on his histories. He was buried under the chancel of St. Sepulchre's Church, and on the slab above his head was carved his shield, with three Turks' heads engraved thereon, and the following inscription : " *

TO THE LIVING MEMORY OF HIS DECEASED FRIEND, CAPTAIN
JOHN SMITH, WHO DEPARTED THIS MORTAL
LIFE ON THE 21. DAY OF JUNE, 1631. •

Here lies one conquer'd that hath conquer'd kings,
Subdu'd large Territories, and done things
Which to the World impossible would seem,
But that truth is held in more esteem.

Shall I report his former service done
In honor of his God and Christendom :
How that he did divide from pagans three,
Their heads and lives, types of his chivalry :
For which great service in that climate done,
Brave Sigismundus (King of Hungarion)
Did give him as a Coat of Arms to wear,
Those conquer'd heads got by his sword and spear ?

Or shall I tell of his adventures since,
Done in Virginia, that large Continnence :
How that he subdu'd Kings unto his yoke,
And made those Heathen fly as wind doth smoke ;
And made their land, being of so large a station,
A habitation for our Christian Nation :
Where God is glorified, their wants suppli'd,
Which else for necessaries might have di'd ?

But what avails his Conquest, now he lies
Inter'd in earth, a prey for worms and flies ?
O may his soul in sweet Elysium sleep,
Until the keeper that all souls doth keep,
Return to Judgment, and that after thence,
With angels he may have his recompense.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH, SOMETIME GOVERNOR
OF VIRGINIA, AND ADMIRAL OF
NEW ENGLAND.

However Captain Smith's account of his own adventures may be regarded by American writers and students of history, it has been deemed of sufficient importance in England to be published in *The English Scholar's Library*, the editor of which speaks as follows :

"As it is our purpose to do justice to all sides of this fascinating subject, we have approached the present text perfectly free from any kind of partisanship. Inasmuch, however, as the accuracy of some of Captain Smith's statements has in this generation been called in question, it was but our duty to subject every one of the nearly forty thousand lines of this book to a most searching criticism; scanning every assertion of fact most keenly, and making the text, by the insertion of a multitude of cross-references, prove or disprove itself.

"The result is perfectly satisfactory. Allowing for a popular style of expression, the text is homogeneous; and the nine books comprising it, though written under very diverse circumstances, and at intervals over the period of twenty-two years (1608-30), contain no material contradiction. Inasmuch, therefore, as, wherever we can check Smith, we find him both modest and accurate, we are led to think him so, where no such check is possible.

"One cannot read the following, without seeing that John Smith was something more than a brave and experienced soldier. Not only in his modesty and self-restraint, his moderation and magnanimity, his loyalty to the king, affection for the church, and love for his country, did he represent the best type of the English gentleman of his day, but he was also a man of singular and varied ability.

"Put all this beside the one single Pocahontas incident by which he is popularly remembered, and one sees that the real John Smith is a far greater man than the mythical one.

"It is not too much to say, that had not Captain Smith strove, fought, and endured as he did, the present United States of America might never have come into existence. It was contrary to all probability that, where so many had succumbed already, the Southern Virginian Company's expedition of 1606-7 should have succeeded."

Capt. Smith's Complete Works, from which these selections have been made, is a volume of over eleven hundred pages, and contains an account of the author's adventures in many countries. Aside, therefore, from being too voluminous, the book gives much that would not be of interest to the student of American history. Therefore only such selections are here given as relate to events of the voyage to, and the final settlement at, Jamestown. The original text has been followed as nearly as possible; but, on account of the author's quaint narrative, it has been necessary, at times, to substitute language more intelligible to the class of readers for whom this book is intended.

"The Virginia 'plantation,' as the old writers called it, began at a remarkable period. The year 1600 may be taken as the dividing line between two eras—the point of departure of a new generation on the untried journey into the future. Europe had just passed through the great convulsion of the Reformation, and this with the invention of printing had suddenly changed the face of the world. It is difficult to speak of this change without apparent exaggeration. A mysterious voice had awakened the sleepers, and they had started up, shaking off the old fetters.

"The nations of Europe were like blind men who have suddenly been made to see. Daring aspirations took possession of them, and the new ideas of the new age crowded into every mind, hurrying and jostling each other.

"Men longed for new experiences, to travel and discover new countries, to find some outlet for the boiling spirit of enterprise which had rushed into and overflowed the time. The adventurous sea voyages of the period were the direct outcome of this craving; suddenly a passion for maritime exploration had developed itself.

"Magellan circumnavigated the world, and Sir Francis Drake doubled Cape Horn, coasted northward to the present Alaska, attempted the northwest passage, and finding it impracticable, crossed the Pacific, traversed the Indian Ocean, and returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope. Beyond the Atlantic was the virgin Continent, unexplored by Englishmen, awaiting brave hearts and strong hands. To a people so ardent and restless the prospect was full of attraction.

"Virginia was the promised land, and they had only to go and occupy it."—JOHN ESTEN COOKE: *Virginia*.

"A new power was now to be enlisted in the service of colonization. Hitherto whatever had been done had been due to the energy and enterprise of private men. It could hardly, however, be expected that any should be found to follow in the footsteps of Gilbert and Raleigh. The Muscovy and East India companies offered more encouraging examples. The former had achieved success beyond the scope of any individual. The colonies of Virginia had before them a later and more conspicuous precedent. In 1599 a small band of London merchants met together to discuss a corporate scheme of trade with the East. That meeting laid the foundation of the Empire in India. Their labors had also an indirect result, trivial in comparison, yet not without importance. We can hardly doubt that the rapid success of the East India Company led the advocates of American colonization to adopt it as their model. The fate of each body was singularly at variance with its early promise. The East India Company at its outset did not aim at anything beyond trading voyages and

the establishment of factories. The Virginia Company sought to found a colonial empire. The former took rank among the rulers of the earth and numbered princes among its vassals. The latter, even in its brief day of prosperity, was little more than a trading association.”—DOYLE: *English Colonies in America*.

“Sir Walter Raleigh spent a large fortune in attempting to colonize Virginia. He succeeded in directing the attention of his countrymen to the region which had kindled his own enthusiasm, but his colonies never prospered. Sometimes the colonists returned home, disgusted by the hardships of the wilderness. Once they were massacred by the Indians. When help came from England the infant settlement was in ruins. The bones of unburied men lay about the fields; wild deer strayed among the untenanted houses. Once a colony wholly disappeared. To this date its fate is unknown.

“Sir Walter was enduring his long captivity in the Tower writing his ‘History of the World,’ and moaning piteously over the havoc which prison-damps wrought upon his handsome frame. The time had now come, and his labors were about to bear fruit. The history of Virginia was about to open. It opened with meager promise. A charter from the King established a company whose function was to colonize, whose privilege was to trade. The company sent out an expedition, which sailed in three small vessels. It consisted of one hundred and five men. . . .

“Happily for Virginia, there sailed with these founders of a new empire a man whom providence had highly gifted with fitness to govern his fellow-men. His name was John Smith. He was still under thirty, a strong-limbed, deep-chested, massively-built man. From boyhood he had been a soldier—roaming over the world in search of adventures, wherever hard blows were being exchanged. He was mighty in single combat. Once, while opposing armies looked on, he vanquished three Turks, and, like David, cut off their heads, and bore them to his tent. Returning to England when the passion for colonizing was at its height, he caught at once the prevailing impulse. He joined the Virginia expedition; ultimately he became its chief.”—ROBERT MACKENZIE: *America*.

PART I.

I.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE LONDON VIRGINIA COMPANY TO THE COLONISTS FOR THE INTENDED VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA.

1606.

As we doubt not that you will have especial care to observe the ordinances set down by the King's Majesty, and delivered unto you under the Privy Seal; so, for your better direction upon your first landing, we have thought good to recommend the following instructions:

When it shall please God to send you to the coast of Virginia you shall make your best endeavor to find out a safe port in the entrance of some navigable river, making choice of such a one as runs farthest inland, and if you happen to discover rivers suitable for harbors, and amongst them any one that has two main branches, if the difference be not great, make choice of that which bendeth most to the North-west,¹ for in that way you shall soonest find the other sea. When you have made choice of the river on which you mean to settle, be not hasty in landing your victuals and munitions,² but first let Captain Newport discover how far that river may be found navigable, that you may make selection of the strongest, most wholesome and fertile place; for

¹ **Northwest.**—The Indians, in 1586, had told the English wondrous tales of gold at the head-waters of the Roanoke River, and that its source was so near the western ocean that the salt water would sometimes

dash over into the clear fountains of the stream. These fables still influenced the London Company.

² **Munitions.**—Ammunition and military stores of all kinds.

if you make many removes, besides losing time, you will greatly spoil your victuals and your casks, and will be to great trouble in transporting them in small boats.

But if you choose your place as far up as a bark of fifty tons will float, then you may lay all your provisions ashore with ease, and receive the trade of all the countries³ about you in the land. Such a place you may perchance find a hundred miles from the river's mouth, and the farther up the better. For if you settle near the entrance, except it be on some island that is strong by nature, an enemy may approach you on even ground, and may easily pull⁴ you out; but if he be driven to seek you a hundred miles inland in boats, you shall from both sides of the river, where it is narrowest, so conquer him with your muskets that he shall never be able to prevail against you.

And to the end that you be not surprised, as the French were in Florida,⁵ and the Spaniard in the same place by the French, you would do well to make this double provision. First, erect a little store at the mouth of the river that will lodge some ten men; with whom you may have a light boat, so that when any fleet is in sight the men may come with speed to give you warning. Secondly, you must in no case suffer any of the natives to inhabit the country between you and the sea-coast; for you cannot so conduct yourselves that they will not grow discontented with your habitation, and be ready to guide and assist any nation that may come to invade you. If you neglect this, you neglect your safety.

When you have discovered as far up the river as you mean to plant yourselves, and landed your victuals and munitions, you would do well to divide your six score men into three parts, so that every man may know his charge; one part of them you may appoint to fortify and build your storehouse for victuals; of the

³ Trade of the countries, etc.—The merchant adventurers supposing the land to be divided among several Indian nations, and that their trade would be valuable.

⁴ Pull you out.—Conquer and drive away.

⁵ Florida.—Referring to the attack by Melendez.

other forty you may employ thirty in preparing your ground and sowing your corn and roots; the remaining ten you must leave as sentinels at the haven's mouth. The third forty you may employ for two months in exploring the river above you, and the country about you. Captain Newport and Captain Gosnold may take charge of these forty discoverers.

When they espy any high lands or hills, Captain Gosnold may take twenty of the company to cross over the lands, and may carry a half-dozen pickaxes to try to find minerals. The other twenty may go by the river, and pitch up boughs upon the bank's side as a mark by which the other boats may follow them. You may also take with them a wherry,⁶ such as is used here in the Thames, by which you may send back to the President for supplies without being driven to return for every small errand. You must observe, if you can, whether the river on which you settle springs out of mountains or out of lakes. If it be out of any lake, the passage to the other sea will be more easy; and it is likely enough that out of the same lake you shall find some spring which runs the opposite way towards the East India Sea.

In all your passages you must take great care not to offend the natives, if you can avoid it, and employ a few of your company to trade with them for corn and all other lasting victuals if they have any. This you must do before they perceive that you mean to settle among them; for not being sure how your own seed will prosper the first year, you must avoid the danger of famine, and so endeavor to obtain a store of the country corn.⁷ Your discoverers that pass over land with hired guides must look well to it that they slip not from them; and for more security let them take a compass with them, and write down how far they go upon every point⁸ of the compass; for in that country,

⁶ **Wherry.**—A light, sharp boat used in river or harbor for carrying passengers from place to place.

⁷ **The country corn.**—Indian corn or maize.

⁸ **Upon every point** —To make note of the number of miles traveled in each and every direction by the compass so as to easily retrace the journey.

having no way nor path, you will hardly ever find a passage back if your guides desert you.

And however weary your soldiers may be, let them never trust the country people to carry their weapons; for if they run from you with your shot, which alone they fear, they will easily kill you all with their arrows. And whenever any of your men shoot in their presence, be sure they may be chosen out of your best marksmen; for if they see your learners miss what they aim at, they will think the weapon not so terrible, and therefore will be bold to assault you. Above all things, do not advertise the killing of any of your men that the country people may know it, for if they perceive that they are but common men, and that with the loss of many of theirs they diminish any part of yours, they will make attacks upon you. If the country be populous, you would do well also not to let them see or know when any of your men are sick, as this also may encourage them to many enterprises.

You must take especial care to choose a seat for habitation that shall not be overburdened with woods near your town: for all the men you have could not clear twenty acres a year; besides, it might serve for a covert⁹ for your enemies round about. Neither must you settle in a low or moist place, because it will prove unhealthful. You can judge of the good air by the people: for where the lands are low, the people are blear-eyed, and have swollen legs; but if the natives are strong and clean made, it is a true sign of a wholesome soil.

You must draw up the pinnacle,¹⁰ that is left with you, under the fort, and take her sails and anchors ashore, all but a small kedge¹¹ to ride by; lest some ill-disposed persons slip away with her. You must take care that your hired mariners do not mar your trade; for those that do not intend to settle will for a little gain, debase the value of exchange, and hinder the trade for-

⁹ **Covert.**—Hiding-place.

¹⁰ **Pinnacle**—A small vessel, navigated with oars and sails, and having generally two masts, rigged like those of a schooner.

¹¹ **Kedge.**—A small anchor to hold a vessel while riding in a harbor or river.

ever after, and therefore you must not admit or suffer any person whatsoever, other than such as shall be appointed by the President and Council there, to buy any merchandise or other things whatsoever.

It is necessary that all your carpenters and other like workmen first build your storehouse and those other rooms of public and necessary use before any house is set up for any private person; and though the workmen may belong to private persons, yet let them all work together first for the company and then for private men. And, as order is as cheap as confusion, it would be advisable to set your houses even and by a line, so that your streets may have a good breadth, and be carried square about your market-place, and that every street may open into it; in order that from thence, with a few field-pieces, you may command every street throughout. You may also fortify the market-place if you think needful.

You shall do well to send a perfect report by Captain Newport of all that is done; at what height you are situated, how far inland, what commodities you find, what soil, woods, and their several kinds; and so of all other things. Suffer no man to return but by passport from the President and Council, or to write any letter of anything that may discourage others. Lastly, and chiefly, the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out.

II.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH COLONY IN
VIRGINIA.TAKEN FAITHFULLY OUT OF THE WRITINGS OF THOMAS
STUDLY, CAPE-MERCHANT, AND OTHERS.

It might well be thought that a country so fair as Virginia and with a people so tractable would long ere this have been quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers and to the perpetuating of their memory. But because all the world sees in it only a failure, the following Treatise shall give satisfaction to all impartial readers how the business hath been conducted; and no doubt they will easily understand how it came to pass that there was no better success in those proceedings.

Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, the first mover of this plantation, for many years solicited many of his friends, but found small assistance. At last he prevailed with some gentlemen, as Master Edward Maria Wingfield, Captain John Smith, and divers others, but effected nothing till by their great care and industry it came to be undertaken by certain of the nobility, two gentry, and merchants, so that his Majesty by his letters patent (1606) gave commission for establishing councils, to direct here, and to govern and execute there. To do this, another year was spent; and by that time three ships were provided—one of one hundred tons, another of forty, and a pinnace of twenty. The transportation of the company was committed to Captain Christopher Newport, a man well acquainted with the western parts of America, as he had voyaged there more than once. Their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened nor the governors known until they arrived in Virginia.¹

¹ The king's whim of concealing | lonial Council until the expedition
in a sealed box the names of the Co. | should arrive in Virginia left the

On the 19th of December, 1606, we set sail from Blackwall, but by unfavorable winds were kept six weeks in sight of England; all which time Mister Hunt,² our preacher, was so weak and sick that few expected his recovery. Although he was but ten or twelve miles from his habitation, and notwithstanding the stormy weather, or the scandalous imputations which some few, little better than Atheists, of the greatest rank amongst us, suggested against him, all could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leave the business.

We watered³ at the Canaries;⁴ we traded with the savages at Dominica;⁵ three weeks we spent in refreshing ourselves amongst these West India Isles. In Guadaloupe⁶ we found a bath⁶ so hot, that in it we boiled pork as well as over the fire. And at the little isle called Monica⁵ we took from the bushes with our hands near two hogsheads full of birds in three or four hours.

Going from thence in search of Virginia, the company was not a little discomfited, seeing the mariners had three days passed their reckoning, and found no land; so that Captain Ratcliffe (captain of the pinnace) rather desired to bear up the helm⁷ to return to England, than make further search. But God, the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreme storm to hull⁸ all night, did drive them by his providence to their desired

emigrants, in the interim, without an authorized head. Hence, naturally, their dissensions on the voyage.

² **Mister Hunt.** — Robert Hunt, a minister of the Church of England. He settled among the colonists and remained in the country, but how long he lived is not known.

³ **Watered.** — Took a supply of fresh water on board the vessels to use during the voyage.

⁴ **Canaries.** — A group of islands

near the northwestern coast of Africa.

⁵ **Dominica, Guadaloupe, and Monica.** — Islands among the West Indies.

⁶ **Bath.** — A spring of hot water.

⁷ **Bear up the helm.** — To change the course of a ship when close-hauled, or sailing with a side wind, and make her run before the wind.

⁸ **To hull.** — The nautical term for the sailing of a ship compelled by severe storms to take in all sails and to drive before the wind.

port, contrary to all their expectations; for never any of them had seen that coast.

The first land they made they called Cape Henry;⁹ where anchoring, Mister Wingfield, Gosnold, and Newport, with thirty others, foolishly imagining that the place was uninhabited, landed unarmed, and while recreating themselves on shore, were assaulted by five savages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously.

That night (26th April, 1607) the box was opened and the orders read: in which Bartholomew Gosnold, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Smith, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall were named to be the Council, and to choose a president amongst them for a year, who with the Council should govern. Matters of moment were to be examined by a jury, but determined by the major part of the Council, in which the President had two voices. “One and all of these men, with the exception of Smith and Gosnold, were grossly incompetent.

III.

JAMESTOWN.

1607.

TRUE RELATION OF SUCH OCCURRENCES OF NOTE AS HAVE HAPPENED AT VIRGINIA, SINCE THE FIRST PLANTING OF THAT COLONY.

YOU shall understand that after many obstacles by tempests in the Downs¹ we arrived safely upon the southwest part of the great Canaries. Within four or five days after we set sail for

⁹ **Cape Henry.**—Named for the Prince of Wales, eldest son of King James.

¹ **Downs.**—A road for shipping in the English Channel.

Dominica. The 26th of April, the first land we made was Cape Henry, at the very mouth of Chesapeake Bay, which we were then little expecting, having by a cruel storm been blown to the northward.

Anchoring in this bay, twenty or thirty men went ashore with the captain, and in coming on land were assaulted by certain Indians, who charged on them within pistol-shot. In this conflict Captain Archer and Matthew Morton were shot; whereupon Captain Newport coming to their aid made a shot which the Indians little respected, but having spent their arrows they retired without harm.

At this place the box was opened, in which the Council for Virginia was nominated, and arriving at the place² where we are now seated, the Council was sworn, and the President elected, which for that year was Mister Edward Maria Wingfield. The situation chosen was a very fit place for the erecting of a great city, but about this some contention passed betwixt Captain Wingfield and Captain Gosnold. Notwithstanding this, all our provisions were brought ashore, and with as much speed as might be, we went about our fortification. The twenty-second day of May, Captain Newport and myself, with others, to the number of twenty-two persons, set forward to explore the river some fifty or sixty miles, finding it in some places broader and in some narrower; the country on each side was plain, high ground, with many fresh springs.

The people in all places kindly treated us, feasting us with strawberries, mulberries, bread, fish, and other of their country provisions, whereof we had plenty. Captain Newport kindly requited their least favors with bells, pins, needles, beads, or glasses, which so pleased them that his liberality made them follow us from place to place, and always kindly to respect us. While staying to refresh ourselves on a little island, four or five savages came and described to us the course of the river; and

² **Jamestown.**—So called in honor of James I. The first permanent English settlement within the limits of the present United States.

afterwards in our journey they often met us, and traded for such provisions as we had. He whom we supposed to be the chief king of all the rest most kindly entertained us, giving a guide to go with us up the river to Powhatan,³ from which place their great emperor takes his name.

But to finish this discovery we passed on farther, where within a mile we were intercepted by great craggy stones in the midst of the river, where the water falls so rapidly and with such violence that no boat can possibly pass. That night we returned to Powhatan; the next day we returned to the falls, leaving a mariner as pledge with the Indians for a guide of theirs. He that they honored for king followed us by the river. Captain Newport repaid his kindness with a gown and hatchet; returning to Arsetecke,⁴ we stayed there the next day to observe the latitude thereof, and then, with many signs of love, we departed.

The next day the Queen of Agamatack⁵ kindly treated us, her people being no less contented than the rest; and from thence we went to another place, where the people showed us the manner of their diving for mussels, in which they find pearls.

One night, passing some twenty miles from our fort the people, according to their former churlish condition, seemed little to like us. This gave us occasion to suspect some mischief at the fort, and therefore we repaired to the fort with all speed, where the first we heard was that four hundred Indians the day before had surprised and assaulted it. Had not God, by means of the ships, from which they shot with their ordinances and muskets, caused the Indians to retire, they would have entered the fort, where our own men were busy planting corn.

With all speed we palisaded our fort; for six or seven days we had alarms by ambuscades, and four or five of our men were

³ Powhatan.—This place was within a mile of the falls, near the present site of Richmond.

⁴ Arsetecke.—An Indian village, near the now famous "Dutch Gap."

⁵ Agamatack.—The Queen of Apomattox; subject to Powhatan, yet of the same authority as any of the neighboring chiefs.

cruelly wounded by being abroad. The Indian loss we know not, but, as they report, three were slain and some hurt.

Captain Newport having set things in order, set sail for England the 22d of June, 1607, leaving provision for thirteen or fourteen weeks. The day before the ship's departure, the king sent the Indian that had met us before in our discovery to assure us peace. Our fort was then palisaded round, and all our men in good health and comfort, although through some discontent it did not long continue. The President and Captain Gosnold, with the rest of the Council, were for the most part discontented with one another, in so much that things were not conducted with discretion, nor was business effected in such good manner, as wisdom for our own good and safety required.

We were plagued with so much famine and sickness, that the living were scarce able to bury the dead. The chief cause was our want of sufficient and good victuals, with continual watching, four or five each night at three bulwarks.⁶ We had great store of sturgeon only, and on this our men would so greedily surfeit, that it cost many their lives. The sack, *aqua vitæ*,⁷ and other preservatives for our health, were kept only in the President's hands, for himself and a few associates. Shortly after this time Captain Gosnold fell sick, and within three weeks died. Captain Ratcliffe was then also very sick and weak, and though I also had suffered the same extremity, by God's assistance I had recovered. Kendall about this time, for divers reasons, was deposed from the Council; and shortly after it pleased God to move the Indians to bring us corn ere it was half ripe, though we rather expected they would destroy us.

By the tenth of September there were about forty-six of our men dead, and Captain Wingfield had ordered the affairs in such a manner that he was generally hated by all. With one consent, therefore, he was deposed from his Presidency, and Captain Ratcliffe in turn was elected. Our provision was now within twenty

⁶ **Bulwarks.**—The fort was built in the shape of a triangle, having a bulwark at each corner, and four or

five pieces of artillery mounted in them.

⁷ **Aqua vitæ.**—Water of life.

days of being spent, but the Indians brought us great store both of corn and bread ready-made. There also came such abundance of fowls into the rivers, that they greatly refreshed our weak condition, and soon many of our weak men were able to go about. As yet we had no houses to cover us, our tents were rotten, and our cabins worse than nothing. Our best commodity was iron, which we made into little chisels.

The sickness of the President and of Captain Martin constrained me to be *cape merchant*,^{*} and to spare no pains in making houses for the company, who, notwithstanding our misery, did not cease their malice, grudging, and muttering. As most of our chief men were now either sick or discontented, the rest were in such despair that they would rather starve and rot with idleness than be persuaded to do anything for their own relief without constraint. Our victuals being now within eighteen days of being spent, and the Indians' trade decreasing, I was sent to the mouth of the river, to an Indian town,[†] to trade for corn, and to try the river for fish. But our fishing did not avail by reason of the stormy weather.

The Indians, thinking us nearly famished, with careless kindness offered us little pieces of bread and small handfuls of beans or wheat, in return for a hatchet or a piece of copper. In like manner I entertained their kindness, and in like scorn offered them commodities of little value; but the children, or any that showed extraordinary kindness, I treated liberally with gifts of such trifles as well contented them. Though finding this cold comfort, I anchored before the town, and the next day returned to trade. In this time God (the absolute disposer of all hearts) altered their conceits, for now they were no less desirous of our commodities than we of their corn. Under pretence of fetching fresh water, I sent a man to see the town, their corn and force, and to try their intent, for they desired me to come

^{*} **Cape Merchant.**—Treasurer. On | is similar to the modern “super-
shipboard this name signified the | cargo.”
person in charge of the cargo; it |

[†] **Indian town.**—Now Hampton.

to their houses. Understanding their purpose, I visited them with four men.

With fish, oysters, bread, and deer, they kindly traded with me and my men, being no less in doubt of my intent than I of theirs; for I might with twenty men have well freighted a ship with corn. The town contained eighteen houses, pleasantly seated upon three acres of ground, half surrounded by a great bay of the river. The town joined the mainland by a neck of land sixty yards long. With sixteen bushels of corn I returned towards our fort. On the way I encountered two canoes of Indians, who came aboard. They were the inhabitants of a kingdom on the south side of the river, which is five miles wide and nearly twenty miles from the mouth. With these I traded, but as they had with them only their hunting provision, they requested me to return to their town, where I could load my boat with corn. After that I returned to the fort with nearly thirty bushels of corn, the very name of which gave great comfort to our despairing company.

Time was thus passing away, and as not over fourteen days' victuals were left, some motions were made about our President and Captain Archer going to England to procure a supply. In the mean time we had been fairly provided with houses, and our President and Captain Martin were now able to walk abroad. With much ado it was decided that the pinnace and barge should go to Powhatan to trade for corn. Lots were cast to see who should go in her: the chance was mine; and while she was rigging, I made a voyage to Topohanack.¹⁰ There the women and children fled from their houses, but at last I drew them near. They dared not trade, though they had plenty of corn, and I had no commission to rob.

On my return I traded with a churlish and treacherous nation, and having loaded ten or twelve bushels of corn, they tried to take our guns and swords by stealth, and as we seemed to dislike it, they were ready to assault us. While standing upon our

¹⁰ **Topohanack.**—An Indian village on the south side of the James River.

guard, in coasting the shore, some would come out of the woods, and with corn to trade. But lest we should be obliged either to endure overmuch wrong or directly to resort to revenge, we returned with ten bushels of corn.

Though by God's assistance we obtained good store of corn, yet some bad spirits, not content with God's providence, still grew mutinous ; in so much that our President, having occasion to chide the blacksmith for some misdemeanor, the blacksmith not only swore at him, but also offered to strike him with some of his tools. For this rebellious act the smith was condemned by a jury to be hanged. On the ladder to the gallows he continued very obstinate, as if hoping for a rescue ; but when he saw no other way but death for him, he became penitent, and declared a dangerous conspiracy, and so himself escaped. As principal in this conspiracy, Captain Kendall was condemned by a jury, and shot to death.

One day we went within three or four miles and hired a canoe, and two Indians to row us a-fowling. Though some wise men may condemn this as too bold and too indiscreet, yet if they well consider the friendship of the Indians in conducting me, the desolateness of the country, the probability of finding some lake, the malicious judges of my actions at James Town, and the desire to have something of worth to report, to encourage our adventurers in England,—these considerations might well have caused any honest mind to have done the like, as well for his own sake as for the public good. Having two Indians for my guides and two of our own company, I set forward, leaving seven men in the barge.

I took one of the Indians with me to see the nature of the soil and to cross the bendings of the river; the other Indian I left with Mister Robinson and Thomas Emory, with their matches lighted,¹¹ and ordered them to discharge a gun for my retreat at the first sight of an Indian. Within a quarter of an hour I

¹¹ **Matches lighted.**—Their guns were matchlocks, hence the necessity for lighted matches.

heard a loud cry and a shouting of Indians, but no warning shot. Presently I was struck with an arrow on the right thigh, and soon I was environed by two hundred men. Thus surprised, I resolved to try their mercies: I cast my arms from me, till which time none dared to approach me.

Having seized on me, they drew me out and led me to the king. I presented him with a compass dial, and described by my best means its use. He so amazingly admired this, that he suffered me to proceed in a discourse of the roundness of the earth, the course of the sun, moon, stars, and planets. With kind speeches and bread he requited me, and conducted me to the canoe, where John Robinson lay slain with twenty or thirty arrows in him, but Emory I saw not.

IV.

POCAHONTAS.*

THE Indians conducted Smith in the following manner: Drawing themselves up in file, the king¹ was in the midst and all the pieces and swords were borne before him. Captain Smith was led after him by three great savages, who held him fast by each arm, and on each side six Indians went in file with their arrows held ready on the bow-string. Arriving at the town² (which was but thirty or forty hunting houses made of mats, which they remove as they please, as we do our tents), all the women and children stared to behold him. The warriors first performed as well as could be, and on each flank were officers as sergeants to see them keep their orders.

¹ **The King.**—Opechancanough, the brother of Powhatan.

² **Town.**—Orapaks, about 12 miles east from the falls near Richmond.

* Written by Thomas Studley, the first cape merchant in Virginia, and I. S. [John Smith].

They continued this exercise a long time, and then cast themselves in a ring, dancing in several postures, and singing and yelling out fiendish notes and screeches. They were strangely painted, and each had his quiver of arrows, and at his back a club; on his arm a fox or an otter's skin, or some such thing, for his shield. Their heads and shoulders were painted red with oil and pocones³ mingled together, which scarlet-like color made an exceedingly handsome show. Each had his bow in his hand, and the skin of a bird with her wings spread on his head; also a piece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle of a snake tied to it, or some such toy. All this while Smith and the king stood in the midst guarded, and after three long dances all departed. Smith was conducted to a long house, where thirty or forty tall fellows guarded him.

Ere long there was brought to him enough venison and bread to have served twenty men. I think his appetite at that time was not very good. They put what he left in baskets and tied it over his head. About midnight they again set the meat before him. All of this time not one of them would eat a bite with him. The next morning they brought him as much more, and then they ate all the old, and reserved the new as they had done the other, which made him think they wanted to fat him to eat him. Yet in this desperate condition one brought him his gown to protect him from the cold, in return for some beads and toys which Smith had given him on his first arrival in Virginia.

Two days after a man would have slain Smith for the death of his son. They had demanded of him to cure the young man then breathing his last. Smith told them that he had a water at Jamestown which would do it, if they would let him fetch it. They would not permit that, but made all the preparations they could to assault Jamestown, craving his advice, and offering

³ **Pocones**—Is a small root which grows in the mountains. On being dried and beaten to powder it turns red, and this the Indians use for anointing and painting their heads and garments. They account it very precious, and of much worth.

him for recompense life, liberty, and land. On part of a table book⁴ he wrote his plan to them at the fort what was intended, how they should affright the messengers, and without fail should send him such things as he wrote for, and an inventory⁵ with them. The difficulty and danger of the mines, great guns, and other engines of which he told the savages, frightened them exceedingly; yet, according to his request, they went to Jamestown, in as bitter weather as could be on account of frost and snow, and within three days returned with an answer.

But when they were come to Jamestown they saw men sally⁶ out, as Smith told them they would, and they fled. In the night they came again to the place where he had told them they should receive an answer, and such things as he had promised them. They found them accordingly, and returned with no small haste, and told, to the wonder of all that heard, that either he could divine,⁷ or the paper could speak. Then they led Smith off upon the rivers Rapahanock and Potomac, and over other rivers, and back again by several nations, to the king's habitation at Pamunkee, where they entertained him with most strange and fearful conjurations.⁸

Not long after, early in the morning, a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat was spread on either side. On the one side they caused Smith to sit, and then all the guard went out of the house. And presently there came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coal, mixed with oil. Many snakes' and weasels' skins stuffed with moss, and all tied together by their tails, met on the crown of his head in a tassel, and round about the tassel was a coronet of feathers. The skins hung round about his head, back, and shoulders, and in a manner cov-

⁴ **Table book**—A book on which anything was written without ink. Similar to modern tablets.

⁵ **Inventory**.—*Meaning?*

⁶ **Sally**.—To rush out suddenly, as a body of troops from a besieged place.

⁷ **Divine**.—To foretell by some superstitious or supernatural means.

⁸ **Conjurations**.—A magical form of words; an incantation; an enchantment.

ered his face. He had a fearful voice, and held a rattle in his hand. With most strange gestures he began his invocation, by surrounding the fire with a circle of meal; then three more such fiends came rushing in with like antics, painted half black, half red. Their eyes were painted white, and some red strokes along their cheeks. These fiends danced round about him a pretty long while, and then three more came in as ugly as the rest, with red eyes, and white strokes over their black faces.

At last they all sat down right in front of him—three of them on the one hand and three on the other hand of the chief priest. Then all with their rattles began a song, after which the chief priest laid down fine wheat grains. Then straining his arms and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veins swelled, he began a short oration. At the conclusion they all gave a short groan; and then laid down three grains more. After that they began their song again, and then another oration, each time laying down as many grains as before, till they had twice encircled the fire. After this they took a bunch of little sticks prepared for the purpose, and still continuing their devotion, at the end of every song and oration, they laid down a stick between the divisions of corn. Neither he nor they ate or drank till night, and then they feasted merrily, with the best provisions they could make.

Three days they used this ceremony; the meaning of it, they told him, was to know if he intended them well or not. The circle of meal signified their country, the circles of corn the bounds of the sea, and the sticks his country. They imagined that the world was flat and round, like a trencher,⁹ and that they were in the middle of it. After this they brought him a bag of gunpowder, which they carefully preserved till the next spring, to plant as they did their corn; because they wished to be acquainted with the nature of that seed.

The king's brother invited him to his house, whereto he bade him welcome, and as many platters of bread, fowl, and wild

⁹ **Trencher.**—A wooden dish, or platter, on which meat was served.

beasts as surrounded him. Not any of the Indians would eat with him, but would put away all that remained in baskets. On his return all the king's women and their children flocked about him for their part of the food, as it was a custom to be merry with such fragments.

At last they brought Captain Smith to Powhatan, their emperor. Here more than two hundred of those grim courtiers stood wondering at Smith as if he had been a monster, till Powhatan and his train put themselves in their best trim. Before a fire, and upon a seat like a bedstead, Powhatan sat covered with a great robe made of raccoon skins with all the tails hanging. On either hand sat a young servant of sixteen or eighteen years, and along on each side of the house two rows of men, and behind them as many women, with faces and shoulders painted red, many of their heads bedecked with the white down of birds, or a great chain of white beads about their necks.

At Captain Smith's entrance before the king all the people gave a great shout. The queen was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel, on which to dry them. Having feasted him after the best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held. At last two great stones were brought before Powhatan. Then as many as could lay hands on Captain Smith dragged him to the stones, and laid his head on them, and were ready with their clubs to beat out his brains. At this instant, Pocahontas, the King's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got his head in her arms, and laid her own head upon his to save him from death. Thereupon the emperor was contented to have him live to make for him hatchets, and for Pocahontas bells, beads, and ornaments of copper; for they thought him as good at all occupations as they were. For the king makes his own robes, shoes, bows, arrows, and pots; and plants, hunts, or does anything as well as the rest.

Two days after,¹⁰ Powhatan disguised himself in the most

¹⁰ Jan. 7, 1608.

fearful manner he could, and had Captain Smith brought forth to a great house in the woods, and left alone there upon a mat by the fire. Not long after, from behind a mat that divided the house, was made the most doleful noise he ever heard : then Powhatan, more like a devil than a man, with some two hundred more, as black as himself, came to him and told him that they were now friends, and that he should presently go to James Town, and he wished him to send him two great guns and a grindstone, for which he would give him part of his country, and forever esteem him as his son.

So Powhatan sent him to James Town with twelve guides. That night they quartered ¹¹ in the woods, and he still expected (as he had during the long time of his imprisonment), notwithstanding all their feasting, to be put to one death or another. But Almighty God had mollified ¹² the hearts of those stern barbarians with compassion. The next morning betimes they came to the fort, where Smith, having used the savages with what kindness he could, showed Powhatan's trusty servant two cannons and a millstone to carry to Powhatan. They found them somewhat too heavy ; but when the Indians saw him discharge the cannon loaded with stones, among the boughs of a great tree loaded with icicles, the ice and branches came tumbling down so, the poor savages ran away half dead with fear. But at last we regained some conference with them, and gave them such toys, and sent to Powhatan, his women and children, such presents as fully contented them.

Now every once in four or five days, Pocahontas, with her attendants, brought Captain Smith enough provisions to save many of their lives.

Thus from numb death our good God sent relief,
The sweet assuager of all other grief.

Captain Smith's narrative of the plenty he had seen, and of the state and bounty of Powhatan (which till that time was unknown), so revived their dead spirits (especially the story of the

¹¹ Quartered.—*Meaning ?*

| ¹² Mollified.—*Meaning ?*

love of Pocahontas), that all fear was abandoned. Thus you may see what difficulties still hindered any good endeavor, yet you see by what strange means God hath still delivered it.¹³

Now whether it would have been better for Captain Smith to have accepted any of those several projects, to have abandoned the country, with some ten or twelve of them, who were called the better sort, and to have left Master Hunt, our preacher; Master Anthony Gosnold, a most honest, worthy, and industrious gentleman; Master Thomas Wotton, and some twenty-seven others of his countrymen, to the fury of the savages, famine, and all manner of mischiefs and inconveniences (for they were but forty in all, to keep possession of this large country); or starve himself with them for company, or by venturing abroad to make them provision, or by his opposition to preserve the action, and save all their lives,—I leave to the censure of all honest men to consider.

V.

CAPTAIN SMITH'S ACCOUNT OF THE INDIANS.

OF THEIR CUSTOMS.

WITHIN sixty miles of Jamestown there are about five thousand people, but of able men fit for war there are scarce fifteen hundred. There is a far greater number of women and children than of men. To support so many together, they have yet no means, because they derive so small a benefit¹ from their land, be it ever so fertile. Six or seven hundred have been the most that have been seen together. The people differ very much in stature, and especially in language. Some are very great, others very little; but generally tall and straight, of a comely proportion, and of a brown color when they are of age, but white when they are born. Their hair is generally black, and but few have any beard. The men shave one half of their hair, and wear the

¹³ It.—Refers to the colony and the preservation of their lives.

¹ Benefit.—The cultivation of the

soil by the Indians was of a most primitive character, and little calculated to result in large crops.

other half long. For barbers they have the women, who with two shells will grate away the hair, in any fashion they please. The hair of the women is cut in many fashions suitable to their years, but some part always remains long.

They are very strong, of an able body, and full of agility; able to endure lying in the woods under a tree by the fire in the worst of winter, or in the weeds and grasses in ambuscade² in summer. They are treacherous in everything, except where fear constrains them; crafty, timorous, quick of apprehension, and very ingenuous.³ Some are of fearful disposition, some are bold, most are cautious, all are savage, and generally covetous of copper, beads, and such like trinkets. They are soon moved to anger, and so malicious that they seldom forget an injury. They seldom steal from one another, lest their conjurers⁴ should reveal it, and they should be pursued and punished. Their women are careful not to be suspected of dishonesty without the leave of their husbands.

Each household knows its own lands and gardens, and most live by their own labor. For their apparel they are sometimes covered with the skins of wild beasts, which in winter are dressed with the hair, but in summer without. The better sort use large mantles⁵ of deer-skins. Some of these mantles are embroidered with white beads, some with copper, others painted after their manner. But the common sort have scarce enough to cover their nakedness, unless with grass, the leaves of trees, or such like. We have seen some wear mantles made of turkey feathers, so prettily wrought and woven with threads that nothing but the feathers could be discerned. They were exceedingly warm, and very handsome.

They decorate themselves mostly with copper beads and paint. Some of the women have their bodies and faces tattooed⁶ with

² *Ambuscade.*—*Meaning?*

³ *Ingenuous.*—Free from reserve.

⁴ *Conjurers.*—Among the Indians these were men who pretended to act by supernatural power, and to have the ability to foretell many

things. As the Indians were superstitious, the conjurers had great power over them.

⁵ *Mantles.*—Cloaks, or loose-fitting garments.

⁶ *Tattooed.*—*Meaning?*

pictures of beasts and serpents, artificially wrought into their flesh with black spots. In each ear they have three great holes, from which they hang chains, bracelets, or pieces of copper. Some of the men wear in those holes a small green and yellow colored live snake, nearly half a yard in length. Some wear on their heads the wing of a bird or some large feather, and a rattle,⁷ which they take from the tail of a snake. Many have the whole skin of a hawk or some strange fowl stuffed, with the wings spread. Their heads and shoulders are painted red with the root of pocone bruised to powder and mixed with oil: this they claim will preserve them from the heat in summer and from the cold in winter. Many other forms of paintings they use, but he is the bravest that is the most monstrous to behold.

Their buildings and habitations are for the most part by the rivers, or not far distant from some fresh spring. The houses are built, like our arbors, of small sprigs bowed and tied, and so closely covered with mats, or the bark of trees, that notwithstanding either wind, rain, or weather, they are as warm as stoves, but very smoky; yet at the top of the house, right over the fire, there is a hole through which the smoke may escape. They sleep on little benches of reeds covered with a mat, held up a foot and more from the ground by a wooden support. On these, round about the house, they lie one by the other near the fire, some covered with mats, and some with skins. There are from six to twenty in a house. Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gardens, which are small plots of ground, some twenty acres, some forty, and there are some larger—from one hundred to two hundred acres. Sometimes from two to fifty of these houses are together, or but a little separated by groves of trees. There is but little wood near their habitations, by reason of their burning it for fire, and a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any way, except where the creeks or rivers hinder.

⁷ **Rattle.**—The extremity of the rattlesnake's tail is composed of several horny membranous cells,

loosely joined together, so that a rattling noise is produced when the snake shakes its tail.

Men, women, and children have their several names according to the humor of their parents. The women, they say, love their children very dearly. To make them hardy, they wash them in the rivers in the coldest mornings, and by painting and ointments so tan their skins, that after a year or two no weather will hurt them. The men pass their time in fishing, hunting, wars, and such manlike exercises, scorning to be seen doing any womanlike work. The women and children do all the work. They make mats, baskets, pots, mortars; pound their corn, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant and gather their corn, and bear all kinds of burdens.

They readily kindle their fire by rubbing a dry pointed stick, in a hole made in a little square piece of wood, which taking fire will kindle moss, leaves, or any dry thing that will quickly burn. In March and April they live much upon their fishing weirs;⁸ and feed on fish, turkeys, and squirrels. In May and June they plant their fields, and live mostly on acorns, walnuts, and fish. But to change their diet, some scatter in small companies, and live upon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land tortoises, strawberries, and mulberries. In June, July, and August, they feed upon roots, berries, fish, and green wheat. It is strange to see how their bodies change with their diet (even as the deer and wild beasts), for with the different seasons they seem fat and lean, strong and weak. Powhatan, their great king, and some others that are provident,⁹ roast their flesh and fish, and keep it till time of need.

For fishing, hunting, and wars they use their bows and arrows. They bring their bows to the form of ours by scraping with a shell. Their arrows are made, some of straight young sprigs, which they head with bone two or three inches long. These they use to shoot at squirrels on trees. Another sort of arrow is made of reeds. These are pierced with wood headed with splinters of crystal or some sharp stone, the spurs of a turkey, or the bill of some bird. For a knife they use the splinter of a reed to cut their feathers in form. With this knife they

⁸ **Weirs.**—Fences or inclosures made of twigs and the branches of trees, and placed in streams to catch fish.

⁹ **Provident.**—*Meaning?*

will joint a deer or any beast, shape their shoes, buskins,¹⁰ and mantles. To make the notch of their arrows they have the tooth of a boar set in a stick. The arrow-head they quickly make with a little bone, or with any splint of a stone, or glass in the form of a heart. With the sinews of deer and the tops of deers' horns boiled to a jelly they make a glue that will not dissolve in cold water, and with this they glue the head to the end of their arrows.

For their wars they use targets¹¹ that are round and made of the bark of trees, and wear a sword of wood at their backs, but oftentimes they use the horns of a deer, put through a piece of wood in the form of a pickaxe for swords. Some have a long stone sharpened at both ends and used in the same manner. This they were wont to use for hatchets also, but now by trading they have plenty of iron. Such are their chief instruments and arms. They fish much in boats, which they make of one tree by burning and scratching away the coals with stones and shells till they have made it in the form of a trough. Some of them are an ell deep,¹² forty or fifty feet in length, and will bear forty men. But the most ordinary are smaller, and will bear ten, twenty, or thirty men. Instead of oars they use paddles and sticks, with which they will row faster than we can our barges.

Betwixt their hands and thighs their women spin the bark of trees, deer sinews, or a kind of grass, into thread, which they make very even. This thread serves for many uses about their houses and apparel. They also make nets and lines of it for fishing. Their hooks are either of bone, in the form of a crooked pin or fish-hook, or of the splinter of a bone tied to a little stick. At the end of the line they tie on the bait.

They use also long arrows¹³ tied to a line wherewith they shoot at fish in the rivers, but they of Accawmack¹⁴ use staves like javelins¹⁵ headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in

¹⁰ **Buskins.**—*Meaning?*

¹¹ **Targets.**—Shields.

¹² **Ell deep.**—*How many inches?*

¹³ **Long arrows.**—Spears.

¹⁴ **Accawmack.**—A territory on the E. shore of Chesapeake Bay, near Cape Charles.

¹⁵ **Javelins.**—Harpoons.

the water. They have also many artificial weirs in which they get abundance of fish. In their hunting and fishing they take the greatest pains; and as it is their ordinary exercise from infancy, they esteem it a pleasure, and are very proud to be expert in it. By their continual ranging and travel they know all the advantages and places most frequented with deer, beasts, fish, fowl, roots, and berries. In their hunts they leave their habitations, and forming themselves into companies, go with their families to the most desert places, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling up the mountains, or by the heads of the rivers, where there is plenty of game. For betwixt the rivers the ground is so narrow, that little game comes there which they do not devour. It is a marvel that they can so accurately pass three or four days' journey through these deserts without habitation. Their hunting houses are like unto arbors covered with mats.

The women follow after them, with corn, acorns, mortars, and all the baggage they use. When they come to the place of exercise, every man does his best to show his dexterity, for by excelling in those qualities they get their wives. They will shoot forty yards level, or very near the mark, and one hundred and twenty yards is their best at random. In their hunts in the desert they commonly go two or three hundred together. Having found the deer, they surround them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselves. Some take their stand in the midst. They chase the deer, thus frightened by the fires and the voices, so long within the circle that they often kill six, eight, ten, or fifteen at a hunting. They also drive them onto some narrow point of land and force them into the river, where with their boats they have ambuscades to kill them. When they have shot a deer by land, they track it like bloodhounds by the blood, and so overtake it. Hares, partridges, turkeys, fat or lean, young or old, they devour all they can catch. In one of these huntings they found Captain Smith engaged in the discovery of the head of the Chickahominy river, where they slew his men and took him prisoner in a bogmire.

It was there that he saw those exercises, and gathered these observations.

One savage hunting alone uses the skin of a deer slit on one side, and so put on his arm that his hand comes to the head which is stuffed; and the horns, head, eyes, ears, and every part is artificially counterfeited as perfectly as he can devise. Thus shrouding his body in the skin, by stalking¹⁶ he approaches the deer, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the deer chances to suspect danger or stands to gaze, he turns the head with his hand to appear like a deer, also gazing and licking himself. So watching his best advantage to approach, he shoots him, and chases him by the marks of his blood till he gets him.

When they intend any wars the chiefs usually have the advice of their priests and conjurers, and their allies and ancient friends; but the priests chiefly determine their resolution. They appoint some muscular fellow captain over each nation. They seldom make war for land or goods, but for women and children, and especially for revenge. They have many enemies in all the western countries beyond the mountains and the heads of the rivers.

The Powhatans are constrained sometimes to fight against all their enemies. Their chief attempts are to capture by stratagem, treachery,¹⁷ or surprises. They do not put women and children captives to death, but keep them.

They have a method in war, and for our pleasure they showed it to us. Having painted and disguised themselves in the fiercest manner they could devise, they divided themselves into two companies, with nearly a hundred in a company—the one company called Monacans, the other Powhatans. Each army had its captain. These as enemies took their stand a musket shot from one another, ranged themselves fifteen abreast, and in

¹⁶ **Stalking.** —Walking softly and warily so as to approach under cover

of disguise very near to game in order to shoot it.

¹⁷ **Stratagem, treachery.** —*Meaning?*

ranks four or five yards apart ; not in file, but with openings between their files, so that the rear could shoot as conveniently as the front. Having thus pitched the fields, a messenger from each part went with these conditions : that the fugitives of the vanquished, upon their submission in two days after, should live, but their wives and children should be prize for the conquerors.

The messengers no sooner returned than the companies approached in order. On each rank a sergeant, and in the rear an officer for lieutenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed manner in wars. Upon the first flight of arrows they gave most horrible shouts and screeches. When they had spent their arrows they came together, charging and retiring, every rank following the other. As they got a chance they caught their enemy by the hair of the head, and down he came. The victor with his wooden sword seemed to beat out his enemy's brains, and yet the moment it was possible he crept to the rear to maintain the skirmish.

The Monacans decreasing, the Powhatans charged upon them in the form of a half-moon ; they, unwilling to be enclosed, fled all in a troop to their ambuscades, on which they very cunningly led the Powhatans. The Monacans dispersed themselves among the fresh men hidden in ambush, whereupon the Powhatans retired with all speed. The Monacans seeing this, took advantage to retire again, and so each company returned to its own quarters. All their actions, voices, and gestures, both in charging and retreating, were so strained to the height of their quality and nature, that the strangeness of the scene made it seem very delightful. For music they use a thick cane, on which they pipe as on a recorder ;¹⁸ but for their wars they have a great deep platter of wood, which they cover with a skin, at each corner of which they tie a walnut ; and these meeting at the back (of this platter) are twisted together with a small rope till the skin is so taut¹⁹ and stiff, that they may beat upon it as a drum.

¹⁸ **Recorder.**—An antique musical instrument, somewhat resembling a flute or flageolet.

¹⁹ **Taut.**—*Meaning ?*

But their chief instruments are rattles made of small gourds or pumpkin shells. These mingled with their voices, sometimes twenty or thirty together, make such a terrible noise as would rather affright than delight a man.

If any great commander arrives at the habitation, they spread a mat, as the Turks do a carpet, for him to sit upon. Upon another right opposite they seat themselves. Then all with a loud voice of shouting bid him welcome. After this two or more of their chief men make an oration, testifying their love. This they do with such vehemence and such great passion, that they sweat till they drop, and are so out of breath they can scarcely speak. A man would take them to be exceedingly angry or stark mad.

They trade for copper, beads, and such like, for which they give such commodities as they have—as skins, fowl, fish, flesh, and their country corn. But their victuals are their chief riches. Every spring they make themselves sick with drinking the juice of a root mixed with water, whereof they take so great a quantity, that they scarcely recover their former health in three or four days. They have many professed physicians, who with their charms and rattles, with an infernal row of words and actions, will seem to cure their inward grief. With a preparation of roots they ordinarily heal green wounds; but to scarify²⁰ a swelling or make incision their best instruments are some splinted stone. They thought so much of our surgeons, that they believed any of their plasters would heal any hurt.

2. OF THEIR RELIGION.

There is in Virginia no place yet discovered so savage that the natives have not a religion.

All things that could do them injury beyond their prevention, as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordnance pieces, and horses, they adore with their kind of divine worship. But the

²⁰ **Scarify.**—To make small incisions so as to draw blood.

chief divinity they worship is the devil. Him they call Oke,¹² and serve him more with fear than love. They say they have conference with him, and fashion themselves as near to his shape as they can imagine. In their temples they have his image carved, and then painted and adorned with chains, copper, and beads; and near by him is commonly the sepulcher of their kings.

When their kings die their bodies are first hung upon hurdles till they are very dry. About the most of their joints and neck they hang bracelets or chains of copper, pearl, and such things as they used to wear. Then they wrap the bodies very carefully in white skins, and so roll them in mats for their winding sheets. In the tomb, which is an arch made of mats, they lay them in order. What remains of the wealth of their kings they set at their feet in baskets. These temples and bodies are kept by the priests. For their ordinary form of burial, they dig a deep hole in the earth with sharp stakes; and the bodies being wrapped in skins and mats, with their jewels, they lay them upon sticks in the ground, and cover them with earth. The burial ended, all the women having their faces painted with black coal and oil, sit twenty-four hours in the houses mourning, lamenting by turns, and with such yelling and howling as may express their great passion.

In every territory are a temple and several priests. Their principal temple or place of superstition is upon the top of certain red sandy hills in the woods, where are three great houses, filled with images of their kings and the tombs of their ancestors. These houses are nearly sixty feet in length, built like an arbor. They consider this place so holy, that none but the priests and kings dare come into the houses: nor do the savages dare go up the river by it in boats, unless they solemnly cast some piece of copper, white beads, or pocones into the river, for fear their Oke should be offended and be revenged. In this place commonly seven priests live. The chief differs from the

¹² **Oke.**—The chief divinity, or evil spirit, worshiped among the Indians of every nation.

rest in his ornaments ; but inferior priests could hardly be known from the common people, except for the many holes in their ears to hang their jewels.

The ornaments of the chief priests are certain attires for his head made in this manner. They take a dozen or more snake-skins, and stuff them with moss, together with many weasel and other skins. These they tie by the tails, so that all meet on the top of the head, like a great tassel. Round about this tassel is a crown of feathers ; and the skins hang round about the head and shoulders, in a manner covering the face. The faces of all their priests are painted as ugly as they can devise. Every one has a rattle in his hands. Their devotion was mostly in songs, which the chief priest begins, and the rest follow him. Sometimes he makes invocations with broken sentences, by starts, and strange passions, and at every pause the rest give a short groan.

It could not be perceived that they keep any day more holy than another ; except only in case of some great distress, of want, fear of enemies, times of triumph, and gathering together of fruits, when all the men, women, and children come together to solemnities. The manner of their devotion is sometimes to make a great fire in the house or fields, and for all to sing or dance about it, with rattles and shouts together, for four or five hours. Sometimes they set a man in the midst, and dance and sing about him, he all the while clapping his hands as if he would keep time. And after their songs and dancings end, they go to their feasts. They have also divers conjurations. One they made when Captain Smith was their prisoner, in order to know, as they reported to him, if any more of his countrymen would arrive there, and what he there intended. The manner of it was thus :

First they made a fire in a house. About this fire sat seven priests, and he by them. They then made a circle of meal about the fire ; and that done, the chief priest, attired as is above expressed, began to shake his rattle, and the rest followed him in a song. At the end of the song he laid down three to five grains

of wheat, and so continued his songs by the grains, till three times they encircled the fire. Then they divided the grains into certain numbers with little sticks, laying down at the end of every song a little stick. In this manner they sat eight, ten, or twelve hours without ceasing, and with such strange stretching of their arms, and violent passion and gestures, as might, they so conjured, well seem strange to him, who every hour expected his end.²² They did not eat any meat till late in the evening, when they had finished their work; and then they feasted with much mirth. For three or four days they continued this ceremony.

They have also certain altar stones; but these stand away from their temples, some by their houses, others in the woods and wilderness. Upon these they offer blood, deer suet, and tobacco. This they do when they return from wars, from hunting, and upon many other occasions. They have also another superstition that they use in storms, when the waters are rough in the rivers and on the sea-coasts. Their conjurers run to the water's side, or passing in their boats, after many loud outcries and invocations, they cast tobacco, copper, pocones, and such trash into the water, to pacify that god whom they think to be very angry.

Before eating their meals, the better sort will take the first bit and cast it into the fire—which is all the grace they are known to use.

In some part of the country they have yearly a sacrifice of children. Such a one was some ten miles from Jamestown, and thus performed:

Fifteen of the handsomest young boys, between ten and fifteen years of age, were painted white. Having brought them forth, the people spent the forenoon in dancing and singing about them. In the afternoon they put the children at the root of a tree. All the men stood in a guard by them, every one having in his hand a bastinado²³ made of reeds bound together. They formed a lane, through which there were appointed five young

²² Expected his end.—*Meaning?*

| ²³ Bastinado.—A cudgel.

men to fetch these children. So every one of the five went through the guard to fetch a child, each after the other in turn, the guard fearlessly beating them with their bastinadoes, and they patiently enduring it, defending the children with their naked bodies from the unmerciful blows ; and so the children escaped. All this time the women wept and cried out passionately, and provided mats, skins, moss, and dry wood, as things fitting their children's funerals.

After the children had thus passed, the guard tore down branches and boughs with such violence, that they rent the body of the tree, and made wreaths for their heads, or bedecked their hair with the leaves. What else was done with the children was not seen, but they were all cast on a heap in a valley, as if dead ; and then they made a great feast for all the company. Being asked the meaning of this sacrifice, they answered that the children were not all dead, but only that the Oke or devil did suck the blood from the left breast of those who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead. But the rest were kept in the wilderness by the young men till nine months were expired, during which time they must not converse with any ; and of these were made their priests and conjurers.

This sacrifice they held to be so necessary, that if they should omit it, their Oke and all their other gods would let them have no deer, turkeys, corn, nor fish ; and besides, he would make great slaughter amongst them. They think that when their priests are dead they go beyond the mountains toward the setting of the sun, and ever remain there in form of their Oke, with their heads, painted with oil and pocones, finely trimmed with feathers, and having beads, hatchets, copper, and tobacco, and doing nothing but dancing and singing with all their predecessors. But the common people they suppose do not live after death.

Many of us used our best endeavors to divert them from this blind idolatry, and though we could not prevail upon them to forsake their false gods, yet this they did believe, that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our guns did their bows and arrows ;

and many times they sent men with presents to the President at Jamestown, entreating him to pray to his God for rain, for their gods would not send them any. And in this lamentable ignorance do these poor souls sacrifice themselves to the devil, not knowing their Creator.

3. OF THEIR GOVERNMENT.

Although the Indians are very barbarous, yet they have amongst them such a government that their magistrates keep their people in due subjection, and in that excel many places that would be counted very civil. The form of their commonwealth²⁴ is a monarchical government. One as emperor ruleth over many kings or governors. Their chief ruler is called Powhatan,²⁵ and takes his name from the principal place of dwelling. Some countries he has which were his ancestors, and have come unto him by inheritance. All the rest of his territories are reported to have been his several conquests.

In all his ancient inheritance he has houses built like arbors—some thirty, some forty, yards long; and at every house provision for his entertainment. For the greater part of the time he resided about fourteen miles from Jamestown, on the Pamaunke²⁶ river. But he took so little pleasure in our near neighborhood, that in January, 1609, he removed to a place in the deserts at the head of the Chickahominy²⁷ river. He is a tall, well-proportioned man, with a sour look; his head somewhat gray, his beard so thin that it seems none at all. His age, near sixty; and a body very able and hardy to endure any labor. About his person ordinarily attends a guard of forty or fifty of the tallest men his country doth afford. Every night upon the four quarters of his house are four sentinels, standing from each other an

²⁴ **Commonwealth.**—*Meaning?*

²⁵ **Powhatan.**—This was the official name of the chief ruler. His family name was Wahunsonacoke.

²⁶ **Pamaunke** — York River.

²⁷ **Chickahominy.** — *Where situated?*

arrow's flight ; and at every half-hour one from the corps calls aloud, and every sentinel answers from his stand. If any fail, they presently send forth an officer, who beats him extremely.

A mile from Orapakes²⁸ in a thicket of wood, Powhatan hath a house, in which he keeps his treasure of skins, copper, pearl, and beads, which he stores up against the time of his death and burial. Here also is his store of red paint for ointment, and his bows and arrows. This house is fifty or sixty yards in length, frequented only by priests. At the four corners of this house stand four images, as sentinels,—one of a dragon, another a bear, the third like a leopard, and the fourth like a giant—all made according to their best workmanship. When he dineth or suppeth, one of the women, before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wooden platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of feathers instead of a towel to wipe them.

His kingdom does not descend to his sons or children, but first to his brothers, whereof he hath three, and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest; and after them to the heirs male and female of the eldest sister; but never to the heirs of the male. Neither he nor any of his people understand any letters whereby to write or read; the only law whereby he ruleth is custom. Yet, when he listeth, his will is a law and must be obeyed. They esteem him not only as a king, but as half a god. His inferior kings rule by custom, and have power of life or death at their command.

They all know their several lands and habitations, and limits to fish, fowl, or hunt in. They all pay tribute to Powhatan of skins, beads, copper, pearl, deer, turkeys, wild beasts, and corn. What he commandeth, they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great fear and adoration all these people do obey this Powhatan. At his feet they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frown of his brow their

²⁸ **Orapakes.**—One of the residences of the Emperor Powhatan, about 12 miles east of the falls at Richmond.

great spirits will tremble with fear; and no wonder, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him. Their ordinary punishment is to beat a culprit with cudgels. We have seen a man kneeling, and at Powhatan's command two men have beat him on the bare skin till he hath fallen senseless in a swoon, and yet never cried or complained.

In the year 1608 Powhatan surprised his near neighbors and subjects. The occasion was to us unknown, but the manner was thus: First he sent some of his men as if to lodge amongst them that night, then the ambuscades environed all their houses, and at the hour appointed they all fell to the spoil: twenty-four men they slew; the long hair of one side of their heads with the skin, cut off with shells or reeds, they brought away. They surprised also the women and the children, and the Werowance.²⁹ All these they presented to Powhatan. The Werowance, women and children became his prisoners, and do him service. The locks of hair he hanged on a line between two trees. And thus he made ostentation as of a great triumph, showing them to the Englishmen that then came to him at his appointment. They expected provision; he expected to betray them, and supposed he had conquered them by this spectacle of his terrible cruelty.

VI.

CAPTAIN SMITH MADE PRESIDENT.

1608.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE SECOND SUPPLY.—CORONATION OF POWHATAN.

ON the tenth of September, 1608, by the election of the Council and request of the Company, Captain Smith received the

²⁹ Werowance.—The king, or chief, of an Indian tribe.

letters patent,¹ and took the place of President, which till then he would by no means accept, though he was often importuned to do so.

Now the building of Ratcliff's palace² was discontinued as a thing needless; the church was repaired; the store-house provided with a new roof, and buildings prepared for the supplies we expected; the fort reduced to a pentagonal form; the order of the watch renewed; the squadrons (each setting of the watch) trained; every Saturday the whole company exercised on the plain by the west bulwark, prepared for that purpose, where sometimes more than a hundred savages would stand in amazement to behold how a file of our men would batter a tree, against which was set a mark to shoot at. The boats were trimmed for trade,³ and, being sent out with Lient. Percy, on their journey encountered the second supply,⁴ that brought them back to discover the country of Monacan.⁵

How or why Captain Newport obtained such a private commission as not to return without a lump of gold, a certainty of the South Sea, or one of the lost company⁶ sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh, I know not.

As for the coronation of Powhatan, and his presents of basin and ewer,



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

¹ **Letters patent.**—So denominated because they are written upon open sheets of parchment, with the seal of the sovereign or party by whom they were issued pendent at the bottom. Close letters are folded up and sealed on the outside.

² **"Ratcliff"** had riotously consumed the stores, and to fulfill his follies about building him an unnecessary palace in the woods, had brought them all to misery."

³ **Trimmed for trade.**—*Meaning?*

⁴ **The second supply.**—The ships, with goods, under command of Captain Newport.

⁵ **Monacan.**—The country near the upper waters of the James River.

⁶ **Lost company.**—A colony of a hundred persons had been left on the island of Roanoke by Captain White, under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1587, and were never heard of afterwards.

bed, clothes, and such costly novelties, they had much better been withheld than so ill spent; for we had his favor much better for only a plain piece of copper, till this stately kind of soliciting made him so much overvalue himself, that he respected us not at all. As for the hiring of the Poles and Dutchmen, sent over with Captain Newport, to make pitch, tar, glass, mills, and soap ashes, if the country had been filled with people and necessities, it would have been well; but to send them, and seventy more, without victuals, to work, was not so well advised as it should have been. Yet this could not have hurt us if they had been two hundred, for though we were then but one hundred and thirty, we were in want; for we had the savages in that decorum⁷ (their harvest being newly gathered), that we feared not to get victuals for five hundred.

Now there was no way to make us miserable but by neglecting the opportunity to make provision whilst it was to be had, which was done by the direction from England to perform this strange discovery, and a more strange coronation. To lose that time, spend what victuals we had, tire and starve our men, was folly. How or by whom such ideas were invented I know not. But we only accounted Captain Newport the author, who to effect these projects had so gilded men's hopes with great promises, that both Company and Council carried out his resolution.

Of this second supply there were added to the Council one Captain Richard Waldo, and Captain Wynne, two ancient soldiers and valiant gentlemen, but ignorant of the business, being but newly arrived. Although Smith was President, yet the major part of the Council had the authority, and ruled it as they listed.⁸ Captain Smith, to clear away all seeming suspicions, to prove that the savages were not so desperate as was pretended by Captain Newport, and to show how willing he was to assist them as much as he could, because the coronation would consume much time, he himself took their message to Powhatan, to entreat him to come to Jamestown to receive his presents.

⁷ Decorum.—*Meaning?*

⁸ Listed.—*Meaning?*

And where Captain Newport did not dare to go with less than one hundred and twenty, he took with him only four men. With these he went overland some twelve miles, and crossed the river in a savage's canoe.

Powhatan, being thirty miles off, was sent for. In the meantime Pocahontas and her women entertained Captain Smith in this manner. In a plain they made a fire, before which he sat upon a mat, when there was suddenly heard such a hideous noise and shrieking amongst the woods, that the five Englishmen betook themselves to their arms, and seized on two or three old men near them, supposing Powhatan with all his power had come to surprise them. But presently Pocahontas came, asking him to kill her if they planned any harm; and the beholders, who were men, women, and children, satisfied the Captain there was no such intention.



POCAHONTAS.

Presently they were presented with this antic: thirty young women came out of the woods, their bodies all painted, some of one color, some of another, but all differing. Their leader had a fair pair of buck's horns on her head, and an otter skin at her girdle, and another at her arm, a quiver of arrows on her back, a bow and arrows in her hand: the next had in her hand a sword, another a club, another a pot-stick:⁹ each one with her own device. With most fiendish shouts and cries, they rushed from among the trees, and cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dancing, often falling into infernal passions, and solemnly again returning to sing and dance. Having spent nearly an hour in this masquerade, they departed as they had entered. When this salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of all the savage dainties they could devise. Some attended,

⁹ **Pot-stick.**—A stick with a hook at the end.

others sung and danced about; and when this mirth was ended, with fire-brands instead of torches they conducted us to our lodging.

Powhatan came the next day. Smith delivered his message regarding the presents sent for him, and desired him to come to his father Newport to accept of them. To this the subtle savage thus replied : “ If your king has sent me presents, I also am a king, and this is my land ; I will stay eight days to receive them. Your father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your fort ; neither will I bite at such a bait.”

Many other discourses they had (yet each was content to satisfy the other with complimentary courtesies), and so Captain Smith returned with his answer. Upon this the presents were sent by water, a distance of nearly a hundred miles, and the captains, with fifty good soldiers, went by land.

The next day was appointed for Powhatan's coronation. Then the presents were brought to him : his basin and ewer ; his bed and furniture set up ; his scarlet cloak and apparel, with much ado, put on him, but there was great trouble to make him kneel to receive his crown. Neither knowing the majesty and meaning of a crown, nor bending of the knee, he required so many persuasions, examples, and instructions, as tired them all. At last he stooped a little, and three put the crown on his head. Then by the warning of a pistol the boats saluted with such a volley of shot, that the king started up in a horrible fear, till he saw all was well. Then remembering himself, to thank them for their kindness he sent his old moccasins and his mantle of raccoon skin to his brother, King James I., by Captain Newport. And so, after further kindness on both sides, Powhatan presented Newport with a heap of wheat ears, wherewith we returned to the fort. No sooner were we landed than the President dispersed as many as were able, some to make glass, others pitch and soap ashes. But he conducted thirty of us five miles from the fort into the woods, to learn to cut down trees and make clapboards. These hard works were strange indeed to some men of our company, but all these things were carried on so pleasantly, that within a

week they became skillful. They delighted to hear the trees thunder as they fell ; but the axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that many times every third blow had a loud oath to drown the echo. As a remedy for this sin, the President devised to have every man's oaths numbered, and at night for every oath to have a can of water poured down his sleeve. With this every offender was so drenched, that after that a man could scarce hear an oath in a week.

Let no man think by this that the President and these gentlemen spent their time as common wood-hackers at felling trees or other like labors, or that they were pressed to it as hirelings or common slaves, for what they did seemed as only a pleasure and a recreation; yet thirty or forty such volunteers would do more in a day than one hundred of the rest that must be pressed to it by compulsion: but twenty good workmen would have been better than them all.

VII.

THE NEW CHARTER.

1609.

“IN England the company was not unnaturally dissatisfied with the results of the colony. The only return they had yet had was two shiploads of timber. Accordingly they determined to get a new charter, and to send out a fresh colony of five hundred settlers in nine ships under command of Smith's old enemy Captain Newport. The character of the new settlers was not such as to give much hope for the future welfare of the colony. The colonists sailed from England in the latter end of May, but the admiral's (Sir Geo. Somers) ship, the *Sea-Venture*, with one hundred and fifty men and three governors, with the letters patent, on board, was cast away on the Bermudas. The rest of

the fleet which had been separated from the *Sea-Venture* in the storm managed to ride through, and reached the Chesapeake, though in a fearfully shattered condition. The Virginia government had been reorganized and Smith removed.

“The reasons for his disgrace were his ‘hard dealings’ with the savages, and not returning the ships freighted—a bitter charge against a man who had derided the yellow dirt and only seized the corn necessary to save the life of the colony. This indication of the state of things in Virginia, at the moment (August, 1609), will explain what followed. Ratcliffe, coming on shore from the ships, claimed authority in the colony as the representative of the new rulers, who would soon arrive. Riot and confusion followed.

“Smith was a man of few words, and could always be counted on to do what he said he would do. The term of his presidency had not yet expired; he was still the head of the colony, and he would hold to strict account those who disobeyed his orders. In less than three months the new colonists had conducted themselves so factiously that Smith was compelled to cast several ringleaders into prison. Then he separated the colony into three parts, and planted one hundred and twenty men under Martin at Nansemond, and the same number under West near the site of the present city of Richmond.

“Both of these settlements were soon in trouble, and Smith was compelled to visit them to quell their insurrection. Worn and weary with all this dissension he sailed down the river again, bent on finally leaving Virginia. An incident hurried his departure. On his way down the James a bag of gunpowder exploded in his boat, ‘tearing the flesh from his body and thighs in a most pitiful manner.’ His severe wounds required treatment, and there was no one in the colony who was competent. An opportunity to return to England presented itself. The ships were about to sail, and Smith was carried on board, delegating his authority to George Percy, who consented to remain and act as President.

“Then the ships set sail, and Smith took his departure, never

again to return to Virginia. He left near five hundred persons in the colony well supplied with arms, provisions, and goods for the Indian traffic. Jamestown had a fort, church, store-house, and about sixty dwelling-houses, with a stock of hogs, goats, sheep, fowls, and a few horses. At Smith's departure, the colonists gave themselves up to riot and idleness. They wastefully consumed the store of provisions, killed the stock, traded away their arms with the natives, and presently suffered severely from famine. The Indians attacked them, and killed many. In six months there were only sixty persons remaining. At this critical time Gates and Somers arrived from the Bermudas. Disheartened by the hopeless condition of the colony, they resolved to sail for England; but fortunately, as they were leaving the river, Lord Delaware appeared with three ships, well supplied. The colony was resettled, and, from that time, prospered."

VIII.

MARRIAGE OF POCAHONTAS.

1613.

WRITTEN BY R. HARRIS AND JOHN SMITH.

It being April, and time to prepare our ground and to plan our corn, we returned to Jamestown.

Long before this, Master John Rolfe, an honest gentleman, and of good behavior, had been in love with Pocahontas and she with him. I¹ immediately made this known to Sir Thomas Dale by a letter from Rolfe, wherein he entreated Dale's advice. Sir Thomas Dale well approved the idea. The news of the intended marriage soon came to the knowledge of Powhatan, and proved

¹ I. The writer of this account was Raphe Hamor; came to Virginia in 1610, and became secretary of the Council.

acceptable to him, as appeared by his ready consent; for within ten days he sent an old uncle of Pocahontas and two of his sons, to see the manner of the marriage, and as his deputy, to do what they were requested for the confirmation there. This was accordingly done about the first of April (1613), and ever since we have had friendly trade and commerce, as well with Powhatan himself, as all his subjects.

In the little rudely-constructed church at Jamestown, before the font, which was hewn out of the trunk of a tree, the Princess Pocahontas openly renounced her country's idolatry and was baptized, and given the name of Rebecca.

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH. 1616.

To the Most High and Virtuous Princess, Queen Anne of Great Britain.

MOST ADMIRER QUEEN: The love I bear my God, my king, and country, has so often encouraged me in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honesty constrains me to present your Majesty this short discourse. If ingratitude be a deadly poison to all honest virtues, I should be guilty of that crime if I omitted any means to be thankful.

Some ten years ago, in Virginia, where I was taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan their chief king, I received from this great savage exceeding great courtesy, and especially from his son, the manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit I ever saw in a savage, and from his sister Pocahontas, the king's most dear and well-beloved daughter, being but a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, whose compassionate, pitiful heart in my desperate condition, gave me much cause to respect her. Although the first Christian this proud king and his grim attendants ever saw, and enthralled in their barbarous power, notwithstanding all their threats, I cannot say I felt the least want that was in the power of those my mortal foes to prevent. After I had been fatted some six weeks among those savage courtiers, she, at the minute of my execution, hazarded the beating out of her own brains

to save mine; and not only that, but she so prevailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to Jamestown; where I found about thirty-eight miserable, poor, and sick creatures, to keep possession of all those large territories of Virginia. Such was the weakness of this poor Commonwealth, that had the savages not fed us, we should have starved. And this relief, most gracious Queen, was commonly brought us by this lady Pocahontas.

Notwithstanding all these events, when inconstant fortune turned our peace to war, this tender maid dared to visit us, and oft appeased our wrangles and supplied our wants. Whether it was the policy of her father thus to employ her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her His instrument, or her extraordinary affection to our nation, I know not; but of this I am sure: when Powhatan, with the utmost of his policy and power, sought to surprise me at Werowocomoco, the dark night could not prevent her from coming through the dangerous woods, and, with moist eyes giving me intelligence, and advice how to escape his fury. Had he known this, he surely would have slain her. With her wild train she has freely frequented Jamestown, as her father's habitation; and during the time of two or three years she, next to God, was the instrument to preserve this Colony from death, famine, and utter confusion; and if Virginia in those times had once been dissolved, it might have remained to this day as it was at our first arrival.

Since then this business has been turned and varied by many accidents from what I left it on October 4, 1609: It is most certain that during a long and most troublesome war betwixt her father and our Colony, after my departure, she was not heard of. About two years after² she herself was taken prisoner and detained two years. The Colony by that means was relieved, peace concluded, and at last, rejecting her barbarous condition, she was married to an English gentleman with whom she is now in England; the first Christian ever of that nation, the first Virginian who ever spoke English.

² April, 1613.

Thus, most gracious lady, I have related to your Majesty what our approved histories will give you in detail, at your best leisure, as done in the time of your Majesty's life; and however this might be presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot come from a more honest heart. I never yet begged anything from the state, and it is my want of ability, and her exceeding desert, your birth, means, and authority, her birth, virtue, want, and simplicity, that make me thus bold to humbly beseech your Majesty to take this knowledge regarding her, even though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter, as myself. Her husband's estate can not make her fit to attend your Majesty. The most and least I can do is to tell you this, because no one has so often tried it as I have and still more because she is of so great a spirit that if she should not be well received her present love to us and Christianity might turn into such scorn and fury as to divert all this good to the worst of evil. On the other hand, if so great a Queen should do her some unexpected honor in return for her kindness to your servants and subjects it would so delight her as to endear her dearest blood to effect what your Majesty and all the king's honest subjects most earnestly desire.

Being about this time preparing to sail for New England, I could not stay to do her the service which I desired, and which she well deserved; but hearing that she was at Branford,³ with some of my friends, I went to see her. After a modest salutation, without a word she turned about and hid her face, as if displeased, and in that humor her husband, with others, left her for two or three hours, and I repented for having written that she could speak English. But not long after she began to talk, and remembered me well and what courtesies she had done me: "You did promise Powhatan," she said, "that what was yours should be his, and he the like to you. You called him father, being a stranger in his land, and by the same reason so must I call you. I dared not allow of that title because she was a king's

³ **Branford.**—Brentford, not far from London.

daughter. With a well-set countenance she said: "Were you not afraid to come into my father's country and cause fear in him and all his people, and do you now fear to have me call you father? I tell you, then, I will, and you shall call me child; and so I will be forever and ever your countryman. They always told us you were dead, and I did not know otherwise until I came to Plymouth;⁴ yet Powhatan gave orders to seek you, and to know the truth, because your countrymen will lie much."

One of Powhatan's council was considered a clever fellow and the king purposely sent him, as they say, to count the people here, and to inform him about us and our state. Arriving at Plymouth, according to directions, he got a long stick and, by cutting notches in it, expected to keep the number of all the men he could see, but he was quickly weary of that task. Coming to London, where by chance I met him, we renewed our acquaintance. Many were desirous to hear him and see his behavior. He said Powhatan did bid him find me out that I might show him our God, the king, queen, and prince, about whom I had told them so much. Concerning God, I told them what I could; the king I heard he had seen, and the rest he should see when he wished. He denied ever to have seen the king, till by circumstances he was satisfied that he had; then he replied very sadly: "You gave Powhatan a white dog, which Powhatan fed as well as he fed himself; but your king gave me nothing, and I am better than your white dog."

The small time I stayed in London, courtiers and others of my acquaintances, went with me to see Pocahontas and generally concluded that God had a great hand in her conversion, and that they had seen many English ladies worse favored, proportioned, and behaved. As I have since heard, it pleased both the king and queen's majesty to esteem her honorably. Accompanied with that honorable lady, the Lady Delaware, and that honorable lord, her husband, and other persons of good quality,

⁴ Plymouth.—England.

both publicly, at the masks,⁵ and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content, which doubtless she would have deserved, if she had lived to arrive in Virginia. Pocahontas died suddenly at Gravesend, in March, 1617, just as she was on the point of sailing for Virginia. The church of St. George at Gravesend, where she was buried, was burned down in 1727. As she was probably born in 1595, she was only twenty-two when she died. Pocahontas, signifying, it is said, “Bright Stream between two Hills,” was her household name, and she was Powhatan’s “dearest daughter.”

IX.

CAPTAIN SMITH’S ANSWERS TO THE SEVEN QUESTIONS OF HIS COMPANY.

OUT of these observations it pleased his Majesty’s Commissioners for the reformation of Virginia, to desire my answer to these seven questions.

Q. 1. What conceive you is the cause the plantation has prospered no better since you left it in so good a forwardness ?

A. Idleness and carelessness brought all I did in three years, to nothing in six months; and of five hundred men I left, scarce three score remained : and had Sir Thomas Gates not got there from the Bermudas, I think all would have been dead before they could be supplied.

Q. 2. What conceive you is the cause that, though the country be good, nothing but tobacco comes from there ?

A. The frequent changing of governors it seems causes every man to make use of his time, and because corn was stinted at two shillings sixpence the bushel, and tobacco at three shillings the pound ; and they value a man’s labor worth fifty or threescore

⁵ **Masks.**—Celebrations, entertainments, and plays performed in honor of Pocahontas.

pounds a year in tobacco, but in corn not worth ten pounds. Now make a man's labor in corn worth threescore pounds, and in tobacco but ten pounds a man, then will they raise corn sufficient to entertain all comers, and keep their people in health to do anything ; but till then there will be little or nothing to any purpose.

Q. 3. What conceive you to have been the cause of the massacre, and if the savages had the use of any pieces in your time, when, or by whom were they taught ?

A. The cause of the massacre was the want of martial discipline, and because, being scattered, they were not prepared to defend themselves against any enemy. In my time, though Captain Newport furnished them with swords by trade, and many fugitives did the like, and some pieces were got accidentally, yet I got the most of them back again ; and it was death to him who should show a savage the use of a gun. I understand that they afterwards became such good marksmen they were employed for fowlers and huntsmen by the English.

Q. 4. What amount think you would have settled the government both for defense and planting when you left it ?

A. Twenty thousand pounds would have hired good laborers and mechanics, and have furnished them with cattle and all necessities ; and one hundred such would have done more than a thousand of such as went, though the Lord Delaware, Sir Ferdinando Wayman, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir Thomas Dale thought to the contrary, they confessed their error.

Q. 5. What conceive you would be the remedy and the cost ?

A. The remedy is to send soldiers and all sorts of laborers and necessities for them, that they may be there by next Michaelmas (1624). To do this well will stand you in five thousand pounds, but if his Majesty would lend two of his ships to transport them, less would serve ; besides the benefit of his grace to the action would encourage all men.

Q. 6. What think you are the defects of the government both here and there ?

A. The multiplicity of opinions here, and officers there, makes so many delays by questions and formalities, that as much time is spent in useless forms as in action. Besides, some are so desirous to employ their ships, receiving six pounds for every passenger, and three pounds for every ton of goods, at which rate a thousand ships can now better be procured than formerly one could be; that the ships are so pestered as occasions much sickness, disease, and mortality; for though all of the passengers die they are sure of their freight; and then all must be satisfied with orations, disputations, excuses, and hopes.

As for the letters of advice from hence, and their answers thence, they are so well written that men would believe there were no great doubt of the performance, and that all things were well. People here have always been much subject to this error. Not to believe, or not to relieve the true and poor estate of that colony, whose fruits were commonly spent before they were ripe, is nothing to them here, whose great estates are not sensible of the loss of their adventures, and so no notice is taken of it; but it is so with all men.

As to the way they think or dispose of all things at their pleasure, I am sure not myself only, but a thousand others, have already spent the most of their estates. The most part have lost their lives and all, only to make way for the trial of more new conclusions; and he that will now risk but twelve pounds ten shillings shall have better respect and more favor than he that sixteen years ago (in 1609) risked as much. But though he risks five hundred pounds, and spends there never so much time, if he has no more and is not able to begin a family, all is lost by order of court.

In the beginning it was not so; all then went out of one purse, till those new devices consumed both money and purse; for at first there were but sixteen patentees, now more than a thousand; then but thirteen counselors, now there are not less than a hundred. I speak not of all, for there are some both honorable and honest; but if some of the officers managed their own estates no better than the affairs of Virginia, they and it would

quickly fall to decay. But this is most evident; it has caused few officers in England to turn bankrupts; who, for all their complaints, would not leave their places; but of the officers there, few would not like to be at home. But fewer adventurers here will risk any more till they see the business established, although there are some so wilfully improvident that they care for nothing but to get thither, and then if their friends be dead, or they come to want, they die or live but poorly for want of necessaries. To think the old planters can relieve them were too much nonsense; for who here in England is so charitable as to feed two or three strangers, if they have never so much, much less in Virginia, where they are in want. Now the general complaint says that pride, covetousness, extortion, and oppression in a few that engrosses all, occasion no small mischief amongst the planters.

As for the company, or those that transport them, God forbid that masters there should not have the same privilege over their servants as here; but to sell for forty, fifty, or three-score pounds, a servant whom the company has sent over for eight or ten pounds at the most, without regard to how he shall be maintained with apparel, meat, drink, lodging, is odious, and the fruits suitable; therefore it were better such merchants were made slaves themselves, than suffered any longer to use that trade. These are defects sufficient to bring any well-settled commonwealth to misery, much more Virginia.

Q. 7. How think you it may be rectified?

A. If his Majesty would be pleased to annex Virginia to his crown, that both the governors here and there may give their accounts to you yearly, or to some that are not engaged in the business, that the common stock be not spent in maintaining one hundred men for the governor, one hundred for two deputies, fifty for the treasurer, five and twenty for the secretary, and more for the marshal and other officers who were never there and never invested anything; but preferred by favor to be lords over them that broke the ice and beat the path, and that must teach them what to do. If anything happens well, it is their glory; if

ill the fault of the old directors, who in all dangers must endure the worst, yet not five hundred of them have so much as one of the others.

Some course must soon be taken to maintain a garrison to suppress the savages, till they are able to subsist, and till his majesty pleases to remit his custom ; or it is to be feared they will lose custom and all, for this cannot be done by promises, hopes, counsels and countenances, but with sufficient workmen and means to maintain them. Yet when the foundation is laid, as I have said, and a commonwealth established, then they may be better constrained to labor there than here ; but to rectify a commonwealth with debauched people is impossible, and no wise man, that intends honestly and knows what he undertakes, would throw himself into such a society. For there is no country to pillage as the Romans found ; all you expect from thence must be by labor.

For the government, I think there is as much ado about it as the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, men here imagining Virginia, as they are, erecting as many stately offices as officers, with their attendants, as there are laborers in the country ; where a constable were as good as twenty of their captains ; and three hundred good soldiers and laborers better than all the rest, that go only to get the fruits of other men's labors by the title of an office. Thus they spend Michaelmas rent in Midsummer Moon, and would gather their harvests before they have planted their corn.

As for the maintenance of the officers, the first that went never demanded any, but risked good sums ; and it seems strange to me, that with the fruit of all their labor, besides the expense of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and such multitudes of people, those same officers could not maintain themselves so well as the old did, beside having now such liberty to do to the savages what they will, which the others had not.

I more than wonder they have not five hundred savages to work for them towards their general maintenance ; and as many more to return some content and satisfaction to the adventurers,

who for all their care; charge and diligence, can hear and see nothing but complaints. It is therefore in your power to rectify all this, and with expedition to pass the authority to them who will release them, lest all be consumed before the difference is settled.

Unless his Majesty undertakes it, or by act of parliament some small tax is granted throughout his dominions, as a penny upon every poll, called a head penny, two pence upon every chimney, or some such collection might be raised, that would be sufficient to give a good stock, and many servants to sufficient men of ability, and to transport them freely for paying only homage to the crown of England, and such duties to the public good, as their estates increased, and as reason should require. Were this put in practice how many people, of what quality you please, for all those disasters would yet gladly go to spend their lives there, and by this means do more good in one year than all those petty particular undertakings will effect in twenty.

For the patent the king may, if he please, rather take it from them that have it, than from us who had it first; from them who pretend to his Majesty what great matters they would do, and how little we did. For anything I can conceive had we remained as at first, it is not likely we could have done much worse; but those who change governments are not without much charge, hazard and loss.

If I be too plain, I humbly crave your pardon; but you requested me, therefore I do but my duty. For my own part I have so much ado to mend my own, I have no leisure to look into any man's particular fault, but these faults in general I conceive to be true. And so I humbly rest.

Yours to command,

J. S.



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